

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN SAYS RUSSIA WANTS NO PEACE NOW

First Full Report of German Editor's Article That is Believed to Have Caused His Exile

By MAXIMILIAN HARDEN.

W HILE Russia, when driven out of Galicia, and when in Poland and in the Baltic provinces she feels the pressure of the enemy's armies, want an early, separate peace?

This question, involving the fears and hopes, respectively, as to the duration of the European war, has in the last week of June occupied the nations of the world, belligerent and neutral, more seriously than any other.

The first answer: "No."

To obtain a positive negation we need not bother to inquire first into the desires of the Russian heart. They cannot. They are bound by their word. On that September day that opened for them the gates of the Crownlands capital, Lemberg, their Czar's Ambassador, Count Benckendorff, put his name alongside those of Messers. Grey, Jules Cambon, Bismarck, and Count Lalaing, signing the treaty binding Russia, Great Britain, France, Serbia and Belgium to conclude peace with the empires of central Europe only in common.

Only for the price of her reputation as a dependable nation, and therefore as a Power trustworthy as a signatory to a treaty, could Russia rid herself of that obligation.

How a treaty violation affects the conscience of humanity, even in our days of asphyxiating gas and the destruction of defenceless, unarmed ships, we have seen in the cases of Belgium and Italy.

Have we seen it? Germany and her allies insist that Belgium herself, through all kinds of intrigues and underground work, forfeited her neutral rights. The Quadruple Entente, its protectors and most of the neutrals contend that not Italy but Austria violated the Triple Alliance treaty because she deviated from the seventh article.

Louder than the voice of conscience sounds the voice of quest after profit. And the castle of political morality is by no means as strongly fortified as pious ignorance imagines. This truth was early realized by those who act and those who look on; by statesmen and philosophers, Western peoples and Orientals, Germans and Englishmen.

To save the price of his tribe from crumbling to pieces under the boring worm of foreign yoke Hermann-Arminius, chief of the Cheruski, broke the pledge that had been taken from him as from a citizen and knight of Rome, and staking his word that he would, sincerely warning, he deceived the General, Quintilius Varus, into disaster and ruin.

Francis I., unwilling to expose France to foreign reign, by giving up Burgundy cast aside his obligation under the treaty of Madrid.

In order to prevent France from growing too powerful the third British King, William, in 1689 in Vienna went over from France, to which he was allied by the treaty of Dover, to France's enemy.

To secure Prussia's future as that of the moulder of the German fate Bismarck tore asunder the German confederation.

Kant, he of the pure soul, once said: "As yet no philosopher has been able to conciliate the principles of the state with the principles of morality nor to propose any better ones that could be conciliated with human nature."

And did not Macaulay speak of the principles of politics as being of a character that the lowest bandit would admit them to his worst henchman?

Here is Nietzsche's shrill verdict: "The state is organized immorality."

But Bismarck, too, whom the lyricist of power and will never did see sufficiently close, recognized even in the theory of national thought that "irrepressible interests" could compel "indubitable violation" of the given word; that a treaty between two Powers was tenable only so long as the circumstances lasted under the pressure of which it had been concluded.

One who came from an entirely different climate and experience, Spinoza, the most ardent in mental order, arrived at the same conclusion. He contends that an alliance lasts so long as does the foundation upon which it rests, namely, fear of damage or hope of profit. He declared: "The right of every state to abandon a treaty is its will, and to his mind one must not accuse that state when it does so of infidelity or treason. And when one state laments that it has been cheated it should be advised to cry over its own stupidity that led it to make its welfare dependent upon another whose will is free and to which its own welfare is the highest law. That is Spinoza's view."

Listen to Frederick the Great as he dissects:

"I hope that posterity, for which I am writing this, will in its judgment of me differentiate between the philosopher and the monarch, between the man of honor and the politician. I must confess that it becomes extremely difficult for one drawn into the madroom of European politics, to keep his character clean and honest."

"He is constantly in danger of being betrayed by his ally; of being abandoned by his friends; of being crushed by envy and jealousy. And finally he is face to face with the terrible choice of either sacrificing his country or breaking his word."

"If a monarch were less eager for his advantage than his neighbors, they would become stronger and stronger—and to him virtue would grow, but his power would decrease."

"The history of every state or every monarchy or republic shows us agreements and treaties that were just as quickly broken as they had been closed. Every ruler or head of a nation is compelled to resign to the custom that sacrifices betrayal and the misuse of power, and I say frankly: 'The neighbor of the head of a nation who fails to do that would only take advantage of his honesty and would interpret as weakness that which is virtue.'"

So spoke the great Frederick in 1742. And later, in 1776, he wrote thus:

"The majority of our historical works are pieced together out of many lies and but little truth. In my memoirs posterity may read with awe of treaties made and broken. The welfare of the State must be the guiding motive of the ruler."

"Circumstances are no longer what they were when I assumed the common obligation. In eleven months of war you have not succeeded in procuring for me a single one of the grand prizes you had offered me. One part of the German army you have, it is true, chained to your long front, but at least half of it and the entire military force of Austria-Hungary, together with the Asiatic army of the Turks, have been fighting us."

"Three Powers have been pressing us hard; and the borders of our Vistula dependency being embraced even in time of peace by the enemy, our stand, before the building up of the most important strategic railways, was an extremely difficult one."

"We marched into West Galicia, into the Carpathians, the Bukovina and into Hungary and held our lines there long enough to give your diplomacy time to enlist aid for us."

"If at that time, in that hour, Italy and Rumania had marched against Austria-Hungary they would have dragged Greece and Bulgaria with them. A common conduct of the war, Serbia too included, would have been possible; the fall of the House of Hapsburg and of Osman and the victory of our cause in the southeast would have become a certainty, and only the German Empire left to be fought, provided that it did not sidestep such a risk."

"Your offensive did not break through at any point. Italy let herself be stalled off for weeks by Prince Buelow before she finally sanctioned the entry into the conflict. At no place were the considerable forces of the enemy diverted from our front, nor were the German guns and bullets eaten up so greedily in the west as to enable us, with our insufficient equipment and preparation, to hold out against the material accumulated in the east."

"Venizelos failed to force his will to get Bulgaria to cede the zone of Drama-Kawala for the large Greek territory of Smyrna. Serbia refused to give up the laboriously gained Vardar-Macedonia for compensation in Bosnia and northern Albania. Rumania extended her demands to the Temesvarer Komitat, which once taken from the Magyars would, under the principle of national border making, have to be given to the Serbs. And up to date Rumania limited her aid merely to the refusal to let through war material from Germany and Austria to Turkey."

"We Russians have fought alone, quite lonely."

"That from September to July you guarded the front from the sea to the Alps against being broken is laudable and could suffice for your glory—if your theatre of war were the only one on which the decision can ripen."

"But it isn't. And as we diverted gigantic enemy forces from your border and kept them engaged, we could expect that you would not remain a whole year on the defensive, but that you would at length push through at least to the Rhine, to Koblenz."

"Again, you have done nothing. You have not established a new Balkan league. You have not through a naval attack destroyed the German fleet or even reduced it. You have not saved our freedom in the Baltic and the 'Baltic sea'! You have not opened the straits. (Self-defence, which became all commanding since you shattered our hopes, makes it impossible for us to try to open them from the Bosphorus by despatching the five army corps that had been gathered for this purpose at Odessa.)"

"We still lack a tolerably convenient route for import and export. Sweden, being pressed by Great Britain in its trade communications with the Continent, is harboring the thought of taking its spite out on us by blocking our trade exit to the west."

"Do you believe that our empire, still in the embryonic stages of industrialization, can carry on the war through another winter if it cannot unload on its coasts, either from the Atlantic or from the Mediterranean, arms, ammunition, automobiles and boots; if it cannot ship the most necessary things to the distant fronts only via Vladivostok and Archangel and can place its raw material upon the markets only by such a wide circuitous route?"

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Maximilian Harden, editor of "Die Zukunft," and considered not only one of the best informed writers on European politics but as the most brilliant and most fearless journalist in Germany, was reported in a recent cable despatch as having been exiled for attacking the German Government's policy and justifying Italy's entry into the war on the side of the Allies. THE SUN last Sunday published in its news columns a translation of an article by Harden in which he bitterly assailed the German judgment of England and the English, lauding British statesmanship and highly eulogizing British civilization and the British national character. To-day THE SUN presents Harden's article in the issue of "Die Zukunft" of July 3, perhaps the last from his pen as long as the war lasts. In it he treats in his characteristic original style the question "Does Russia Want Peace?" from all angles. He arrives at the conclusion that the Slav empire, for reasons of self-preservation, must fight to the finish. Incidentally, Harden in this article refers to Italy and quotes Frederick the Great, Kant, Nietzsche and Spinoza as advocating treaty violations "when imperative for the national weal." The article was written before the fall of Warsaw.

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